

The McArthur Democrat.

NO NORTH, NO SOUTH, UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, BUT A SACRED MAINTENANCE OF THAT INSTRUMENT AND THE UNION.

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To Whom it May Concern!

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GEORGE LANTZ

PATRIOTIC SPEECH

OF

MON. S. S. COX OF O.,

IN REPLY TO

HON. GURLEY OF OHIO.

Mr. Chairman, I obtained the floor on yesterday to give a prompt answer to the elaborate attack made by my colleague [Mr. Gurley] on General McClellan. I was not unaware that my colleague had thus prepared himself. It was bruited about that we were to have dissertation on the conduct of this war which would squelch its present managers. I wish that my colleague could plead the impulse of the moment for his speech; but I give more significance to his labored effort because it betokens a plan—and in which my colleague plays his role—to get rid of the gallant Major General, in whom repose the hopes and the confidence of the people. If his speech had been made by a Democrat, it would have been said that it was an attempt to aid secession; to cripple our credit at home and our honor abroad; to undermine the popular faith in the power of the Government to conquer peace and restore the Union. It would have deserved according to the practice now obsolete a prison in a sea-board castle.

I do not understand, nor will I attempt to analyze, the motives of my colleague. If I were to judge of his intent by the effect of his speech, he would discourage the Army in their efforts, and the people in their payment of taxes. His speech would aid the rebellion, not so much because it was spoken by him as because it seems to be a part of a plan, outside and inside of this House, to begot distrust and sow discord. I do not know, sir, how much weight will be attributed to my colleague's military strictures. If his facts are no better than his conclusions—and I will demonstrate that neither are correct—his speech will only go for what it is worth—the scolding of an unmilitary Congressman.

My colleague began with the cry that generals are nothing, that if any general was incompetent, to take him away. He read from the Richmond Dispatch to show the errors our general had committed. The article read was so full of slander and falsehood that he himself corrected a part of it. He charged the Commander-in-Chief with carelessly holding back our eager soldiers for months. He charged him with denying to them the victory which was in their reach. He said that no man living was fit to command over three hundred thousand.

Mr. GURLEY. I said six hundred thousand.

Mr. COX. I have read the gentleman's speech in the Globe, and I am right. He further said that it was not unwise, but alarming to the last degree. He found fault with his plan—as he claimed to know it—to attack the enemy's whole line at once at all points. He said this was impossible because it was impossible. He did not approve of the general's "wise and precise adjustment of military affairs" before the Army moved. He wanted the Army to overwhelm the enemy without waiting for orders from Washington City. He then undertook by a statement of facts as to the affairs at Romney, in Missouri, and Kentucky, to depreciate the character of that Commander-in-chief. He demanded that the Army should move at all hazards, unrestrained by a single hand. He thought he saw in the occasion of Mr. Stanton a streak of sunlight for he (Mr. Stanton) was like brave Ben Wade, of Ohio. He thought if we did not move soon, our reputation as a military people would about equal that of the Chinese; and then my colleague wound up his speech by the figure of the anaconda, in which he tried to be humorous at the expense of General Scott, who originated the trope, and finally he was for stirring up the anaconda, even though, like the snakes from Tennessee in Virgil, they wound their tails around the most sacred of our hopes to crush them forever. This is the analysis of my colleague's speech.

On the very eve, sir, of the most important movements, and when, too, our Army in one section has already given earnest in carrying out successfully one part of General McClellan's scheme, we have this most inopportune display of impatience against General McClellan, I would rather

have heard it from any other member than an Ohio member. Ohio gave McClellan his first commission. I remember to have seen him come with alacrity to her capital to accept this mark of our governor's trust. How well he repaid the confidence, Western Virginia can answer, and if all his plans there had been carried out by subordinates with a vigor equal to their wisdom, we would had less trouble and more glory in that campaign.

As to the advent of the new Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, whom my colleague calls a "streak of light" in the gloom, I do not believe he will delight in such hailing, coupled with such railing as his friend the general. It is too much like the "fall hail" of the witches of Macbeth. [Laughter.] There lurks a sinister object in this congratulation. It was intended as a depreciation of McClellan; as if the errors of the late Secretary of War ought to be shared by the general.—I, sir, as much and more sincerely than my colleague, welcome the new Secretary. His advent is the harbinger of a better day, when the general's energy can be seconded by the determination and intelligence of an accomplished civilian and an honest man.

But my colleague would hurry the Army into a movement now "at all hazards," because foreign nations may soon interfere. I do not understand this logic. He would have us risk everything for fear of trouble from abroad. We may have foreign war; but this nation should hazard its own existence from a servile fear of England or France. If he had been a Democrat, he would have not been so fearful of every movement abroad.—Choate said he loved the old Democracy, because they had "a gay and festive defiance of foreign dictation."

Mr. GURLEY. That is the party of which I was a member.

Mr. COX. Then my colleague has been a renegade to his ancient faith. I am sorry for it. We would be unworthy of our fathers and of our land, did we fire our own house over our heads because we may fear a neighbor will come some night to despoil it.

My colleague objects to the organization of an army with one head.—He wants a many headed arrangement, with, I suppose, distrustful counsels. Utterly unconscious of the absolute necessity of unity of movement by our armies, under one direction, my colleague, to strike at General McClellan, would change the military system, which has obtained from the time war began or armies were levied. My colleague, has a military wisdom beyond all human comprehension. Because our army is large we must, on this logic, dispense with its proper organization.—There is more need of one executive head to so vast an array as this army of half a million.

My colleague, in this attack also upon the general in command, meant to attack also the President, or he meant nothing. He knew that the President was General McClellan's superior officer; that all that McClellan had done or had not done was approved by the President. He was, however, gracious enough to say that the President would not set up his opinion in military matters in antagonism to his general in chief; and he would not doubt, for this, commend the good sense of Mr. Lincoln, as I do. But if the President in this act was possible, what sort of sense is it for a member of Congress, whose life has been passed, too, in thumping the pulpit desk, [laughter] and whose thoughts have been less upon the eagle and more upon the dove, to set up his opinion against the skill and education of the general in command? If it were not bad sense, sir, it would be nonsense. Why did not my colleague, if his motive was good, go to the President, and with his array of maps, telegraphs, facts of omission and commission, lay before the President his military conceptions? Why does he have them delivered here, before the nation? Was it to display his military erudition? Or was it to gratify what he thinks was the popular prejudice and impatience, to which he would administer, regardless of consequences? Why did he not go to General McClellan and verify his facts before he used them for the public disservice.

Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman had been a skillful commander, or had like the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Boocock speaking] the humane notice for investigating the confessed blunder at Ball's Bluff, in which many brave men were lost, I could tolerate this mischievous line of debate.

But, sir, my colleague compels me to examine into his merits as a military critic particularly, and the propriety of military "movements" here in Congress and elsewhere by civilians. My colleague will admit that he is not a military man by education, nor a soldier, like Falstaff, on instinct.—[Laughter.] His profession was that of a gaspeller. [Laughter.] His studies does not fit him to discuss martial subjects. We do not go to a blacksmith to have our watch repaired, nor to a watchmaker to have our horse shod. We do not go to Carolina for cheese, [laughter] nor to the Western Reserve for cotton. I can well imagine how a fine scholar, as is my colleague, might, like Beaumont's "Elder brother," sit in his study, and mount upon the wings of speculation, and

"hourly converse

With kings and emperors, and weigh their counsels, Calling their victories, if unjustly got, [cels, Ours a strict account, and in his fancy Deface their ill placed statues."

But, sir, criticism on the art of war, to be valuable now, must be backed up by specific study and experience. What has been the study and experience of my colleague?

The country was thoroughly disgusted with the part Congressmen played at Bull Run. [Laughter in the galleries.] It may be remembered with what jocund levity the House adjourned to go over to see our army march upon Richmond. Not one of us ever got there, except my friend from New York, [Mr. Ely,] [laughter] who made his exile so conspicuously honorable in the use he made of it in behalf of his fellow-prisoners. The House may remember that I opposed the adjournment then on the ground that, by going over the river, we would only get in the way of the soldiers. It turned out that the soldiers got in the way of the Congressmen. [Laughter.]

I have a letter, written by a member of this House and published in an Ohio paper, which details with graphic accuracy, the part displayed by truculent Congressmen on that day.—I will have it read at the Clerk's table.

The Clerk read, as follows:

"Just as the dragoons turned back, a cry was raised that the Black horse a formidable body of rebel cavalry, (and these were part of them,) were charging upon us, and it seemed as if the very devil of panic and cowardice seized every mortal soldier, officer, citizen and teamster. No officer tried to rally the soldiers, or to do anything, except to spring and run towards Centerville. There never was anything like it for carelessness, sheer, absolute, absurd cowardice, or rather panic, on this miserable earth below!

"Off they went, one and all; off down the highway, over across fields towards the woods, anywhere, everywhere, to escape. Whether it communicated back to the soldiers still in the woods, and so on back to the regiments who had just driven off the rebels, I do not know, but think it did to a part of them, for a share of our army seems to have been demoralized if not broken up.

"Well, the further they ran the more frightened they grew, and altho' we moved on as rapidly as we could, the fugitives passed us by scores. To enable them better to run, they threw away their blankets, knapsacks, canteens, and finally muskets, cartridge-boxes, and everything else.

"We called to them, tried to tell them there was no danger, called them to stop, implored them to stand. We called them cowards, denounced them in the most offensive terms, put out our heavy revolvers, and threatened to shoot them, but all in vain; a cruel, crazy, mad, hopeless panic possessed them, and communicated to everybody about, in front and rear. The teamsters all turned their heavy wagons, and lashed their horses to a run, and mixed and mingled with a crowd of running footmen, citizens and horsemen all raised an obscuring cloud of dust, and thus the dust filled the entire highway (a macadamized turnpike) with a heterogeneous mass of flying madmen, intent upon nothing but to escape.

"The heat was awful, although now about six; the men were exhausted—their mouths gaped, their lips cracked and blackened with the powder of the cartridges they had bitten off in the battle, their eyes starting in frenzy; no mortal ever saw such a mass of glustly wretches.

"As we came on, horse along by the mass, unable to go ahead or pause, or draw out of it, with the street blacked with flying baggage wagons, before and behind, thundering and crashing on, we were every moment ex-

posed to imminent danger of being upset, or crushed, or of breaking down, and for the first time on this strange day I felt a little sinking of the heart, and doubt whether we could avoid destruction in the immense throng about us; and nothing but the remarkable skill of our driver, and the strength of our carriage and endurance of our horses saved us. Another source of peril beset us. As we passed the poor demented, exhausted wretches who could not climb into the high, close baggage-wagons, they made frantic efforts to get on to and into our carriage. They grasped it everywhere, and got on to it, into it, over it, and implored us every way to take them on. We had to be rough with them. At first they loaded us down almost to a stand still, and we had to push them off and throw them out. Finally, Brown and I, with a pistol each, kept them out, although one poor devil got in in spite of us, and we lagged the infernal crowd two miles. I finally opened the door and he was tumbled out."

Mr. COX. Now hear what these brave Congressmen actually did to stay the tide of retreat:

"The other side of Centerville we had overtaken Senators Wade and Chandler, or saw them in the crowd, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, and a Mr. Eaton, of Detroit, with whom we were in company much of the way afterwards.

"Wade planted himself with a cocked 'Maynard' in the attitude of battle, [laughter;] Chandler with a revolver near him; and we placed ourselves—except Morris—by them; and all with loud voices commanded one and all to halt, or have their brains blown out. Our action instantly checked them.—Many on horseback undertook to dash by, and we seized the bridle-reins of their horses and compelled them to stop.

"Seven men staying a crowd maddened and desperate with fear, Wade firm and bold as an old lion; Chandler frantically excited, and the rest of the band struggling, commanding, entreating, and threatening. 'As you are, I acted just as you know I would when thoroughly aroused, [laughter] caring for nothing and nobody, and determined, as we all were, that the men should stop there."

Mr. GURLEY. I wish to ask my colleague—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield to his colleague?

Mr. COX. I do not mean to convey the impression that my colleague wrote it. It is a scrap of history, written by a Republican Congressman.

Mr. GURLEY. I desire to say that I am not the author of it.

Mr. COX. But to the account given in this letter. It is this Wade, "firm and bold," whom my colleague eulogized as so "brave," and who was heralded in the New York Tribune as likely to succeed the sick and dying McClellan a few weeks since—who was urged by certain parties for the post go held by Mr. Stanton, and whose re-election to the Senate is so much desired now by a faction at home, and who is lugged into this debate to be glorified here that he may shine at home. It is this Wade, with the aid of Chandler, who "cocked his Maynard in the attitude of battle," [laughter] and helped, with the "calls to order" from the other Congressmen, to stay the maddened crowd of fugitives. The people who have been under the impression that the crowd never stopped till they got to Washington, will be now gratified to learn that the Congressmen won the Bull Run battle against our own soldiers, [Laughter.]

I refer to this precious bit of history to show how Congressmen fit themselves for military criticism.

My colleague yesterday said he was at Bull Run, and made as good a retreat as Sigel. He was asked then about the battle of Fredricktown, in which he said he was present.

Mr. GURLEY. I did not say I was present at that battle.

Mr. COX. Very well. He showed in answer to the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Kellogg,] whose brave brother-in-law fought that fight, that he knew nothing about it. My colleague said he preferred not to go into "details." I wanted the details, sir. I needed them to estimate the military experience of my colleague. If his part has been as important there as it was at Bull Run, I submit that I must be careful how I take his conclusions about McClellan.

[Continued on fourth page.]